

## Buton, Islamization, and its Manuscripts Tradition

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Accepted Article: 27 September 2014

Published Article: 20 April 2015

### Abstract

*Buton the beginning of the country is filled with myths, which serves to form a worldview of cosmocentric in determining descriptions of time, space, and society. Buton as a kingdom lasted for over two centuries (1327-1541) and then continued with a sultanate era for more than four centuries (1541-1960). During the era of the kingdom, Buton was not acquainted with script and literary tradition. Apparently, tradition of writing manuscript was firstly known in the sultanate era, when the process of Islamization began by the scholars who introduced the tradition of reading and writing the Arabic script, which was later modified into a Buton script (Buri Wolio). Sultanate built on the basis of ideology of Islam and Sufism applied teachings of "martabat tujuh" on the system and structure of government. The manuscripts tradition achieved its golden peak in the reign of the 29<sup>th</sup> Sultan, La Ode Muhammad Idrus Kaimuddin (1824-1851), which was instituted in a Zawiah school. Today, there are about 340 texts in Buton manuscripts, which are mostly found in the collections of Abdul Mulku Zahari. In addition, there are still many other texts may be found on varied other private collections, which the numbers are difficult to determine because of various reasons.*

**Keywords:** *Buton, Islamization, Tradition, Manuscripts, Abdul Mulku Zahari collections*

### A. INTRODUCTION

Buton is an archipelago located in the southeast peninsula of Sulawesi Island and is located in eastern Indonesia. Administratively, the area is now one of the sixteen districts/cities in Southeast Sulawesi. In this area, there are a number of cultural heritage with Islamic nuance and still can be seen today, such as the Great Mosque of Wolio Palace located within the fort complex of the palace, old tombs of sultan which are mostly still sacred by local people, a wide variety of tools and equipments of the Sultanate stored in *Kamali* (a palace, ex-residence of the sultan), and a number of manuscripts that are still largely kept in private collections in Bau-Bau, especially on Abdul Mulku Zahari collection (cf. Ikram et al, 2001).

As the sultanate, Buton in the past was a region filled with intellectual activity and spiritual exploration passion. Because many sultans pursued Sufi path, then the people got inspiration to write their thoughts in the book and *other writing media*. There are hundreds of manuscripts in Buton. The tradition of writing scripts passed a long period of time in history. According to Tome Pires (Darmawan, 2009:22), the position of Buton Island on the main route of world trade since long time ago had made it as a stopover of many scholars, both on the route to the east and to the west. At that time, the flow of civilization moved from the north namely Arabic, to Malacca, and then to south and continued to the east.

According to Azra (1994), the network between Moeslims in the Middle East and the people in Nusantara was started through trade relation together with the spreading of Islam. Through extensive Islamic missionary activity since the 12<sup>th</sup> century to the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the network then expanded into political and religious relations. Furthermore, since the 17<sup>th</sup> century, this network came to be more intensive into the relations of religion and intellectual.

The presence of new people from other places absolutely brought a process of idea transformation, resulting in a change of rules and values in a new place, and therefore the value or the law always be *mobile* (Benda-Beckmann et al eds., 2005). The presence of the scholars who spread Islam in Buton had brought a good opportunity to the birth of the literary tradition. Islam came as a new era that replaced the era of illiteracy in the previous era. Islam sparked the birth of literary tradition, which in the present becomes barn of very valuable information of the past. The advent of Islam and the introduction of the tradition of writing in Arabic-Malay, which then in Buton modified into Arabic-Wolio (*Buri Wolio*), using Malay, Arabic, and Wolio, has become the beginning of poured historical records and various ideas and problems of life in the Buton manuscripts.

This research aims to describe of Buton and extent the process of Islamization with influence on the writing of this manuscripts tradition. It is intended as an attempt to build an understanding of Buton and history and civilization have tended to neglect (cf. Zuhdi, 2010), either in conjunction with a review of the historical development of kingdoms or sultanates in the archipelago as well as studies on the progressive introduction of Islam in Southeast of Asia. Moreover, the process of Islamization in Buton so heavily marked by the implementation of "*Murtabat Tujuh*" as the Constitution of the sultanate, a doctrine known in the world of Sufism (Schoorl, 2003:139), and a number of relics of the writing of the manuscript are quite numerous. This condition requires a search and a more adequate assessment that can be expressed various civilizations and wisdom of this community life.

## B. METHODS

The method used in this research is descriptive method, which describe an event or system of thought to describe phenomena that exist, both of which occurred in the past and at the present time (Syadid, 2005:54). Description or depiction is intended to outline a systematic way on the facts, the properties and the relationship between the phenomena investigated (Nazir, 2003:54). In this case described are the facts or a state of Buton, the process of Islamization, and this manuscripts tradition. This is expected to provide a more adequate picture of the history of Buton as a kingdom until later became the sultanate since the arrival of Islam in the country. Islam not only acts as a torch of enlightenment for society of Buton, but also has chalked intellectual process by pouring the religious ideas in manuscript form.

The research data was collected by the method of literature and field studies. Both of these methods are basically mutual support (cf. Moleong, 2007). Literature study to gather information from a variety of literature related to the study, including the manuscripts of Buton. Field studies are used to conduct interviews with several community leaders who considered many know the background of Buton and the process of Islamization and this manuscripts conditions. In essence, written or oral information which is deemed related to this research used as a data source for enriching the knowledge in order to understand better the substance of the study.

## C. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### 1. Buton About and Process of Islamization

The name of Buton or *Butun* or *Butuni* as the kingdom supposedly have established before Majapahit included it as one of “Ikang Sasanuasa” (Nusantara United) on Palapa Oath of Gadjah Mada (Pigeaud, 1960: 12; Zuhdi, 1996:3) and *Galigo* story regarded *Ulio* (Wolio) as a rival and opponent of war at sea in a voyage to China in the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Enre, 1999:31, 113). When *Kakawin Nagarakertagama* (1365) revealed name *Butun* being in tandem with Mengkasar and Banggawi, evidently the area was certainly already inhabited, and even there has a certain social and political orders. Mulyana (1979:312) calls Butun as a clout area of Majapahit status as ‘ke-resi-an’ (village) that considered to have maintained a syncretism between Hinduism propagated by Majapahit and the original belief.

In general, the search on the origin of the kingdom emergence in Nusantara usually filled with myth (Zuhdi, 2007: 2). It also happens to the origin of Buton kingdom. It is mentioned in *Hikayat Sipanjonga* script that the founding fathers of the kingdom of Buton is “Mia Patamiana”, a group of people moved to Butun from Malay Peninsula, Liyaa Island, Johor, in the early 13<sup>th</sup> century led by Sipanjonga. *Mia Patamiana* literally means the four people namely Sipanjonga, Simalui, Sitanamajo, and Sijawangkati. Their arrival in Buton Island is divided into two groups; Sipanjonga and Simalui landed in Kalampa and Sitanamajo and Sijawangkati group landed in Walalogusi. Both groups built settlements on the coasts, which later joined together opening joint-settlement called Wolio. The integrating may be done in an attempt to deal with pirates who frequently took possession of them. Then they form a system of traditional governance by setting four *limbo* (village), namely Gundu-Gundu, Barangkatopa, Peropa, and Baluwu, known as *patalimbona* (four villages) (Taalami, 2012:24).

There is also another myth that tells about the existence of the group who lived in the interior, a community group headed by Dungkucangia. He was the leader of a group of Khubilai Khan's forces who were scattered due to counter-attack of Raden Wijaya in the early 13<sup>th</sup> century (Taalami, 2012:24). Because of differences in interests, Sijawangkati in a time fight Dungkucangia to compete magic. None of them was to lose or win in that fight. They then agreed to build a life with a new brotherhood bond. Dungkucangia who authorized Tobe-Tobe community group was willing to integrate his territory to Wolio, which then followed by a community groups of Kamaru, Wabula, Todanga, and Batauga. Thus, they found a new kingdom, the kingdom of Buton by appointing Wa Kaa Kaa as a king (Zuhdi, 2010:50-54).

As for the myth that suggests an element of original culture in the establishment of the kingdom of Buton is the story of Wa Kaa Kaa. She was a woman who came out of the “buluh bambu” (bamboo reed). This myth has a charge of Bugis cultural hegemony, as synonymous with the concept of Tomanurung, man who fell from the sky. But it's also interesting to be noticed that Wa Kaa Kaa was then married with Sibatara, a noble descendant of the king of Majapahit (Zuhdi, 2007:2).

In traditional historiography of Buton, the designation of kingdom and the king started from two women namely Wa Kaa Kaa as King I and King II, Bulawambona. After that the kings of Buton were male, namely Bataraguru, Tuarade, and King Mulae. Since the king VI, La Kilaponto whose known as Murhum (1541-1587), Islam has colored kingdom, until then the kingdom replaced with

a sultanate and La Kilaponto crowned as the Sultan I of Buton. Thus, Islam has given new legitimacy for Buton or Wolio (cf. Zuhdi, 2007: 3; Niampe, 2007:112).

Regarding the origin of the name of Buton, there are also several versions in its voicing and its background. Some called Buton as *Butun*, which based on consideration relating to its origin that the name had already existed and known (in his time) rather than the name of Buton at present. Local residents receive the name of the island they inhabited from the sailors of the archipelago of Nusantara who often stop in the island. Yunus (1995:11) stated that Buton was originated from the name of a type of tree, namely 'butun' or 'butu' tree, which is in the science of plants known as *Barringtonia asitica* (cf. Anceaux, 1987:25). The large number of 'butun' or 'butu' trees grew in the island makes the sailors called it as Butun to mark the island. The trait of this tree is a little twisted, low branching close to the ground, growing scattered on sandy and rocky beaches. It has beautiful flower, soft wood, and has fruit. The trees widely grow in the southern coastal area of Buton island, a site that had frequently been visited since the first sailing ships.

*Hikayat Sipanjonga* mentioned that at the beginning of the 13th century *mia patamiana* from Malay Peninsula moved to Butun and then established the Kingdom of Butun (cf. Taalami, 2012:24). Thus, the naming *Butun* for the island had existed before Majapahit inserted the name *Butun* in *Kakawin Nagarakertagama* (1365) as a conquered region within the framework of 'tributary'. After that time, when it transformed to sultanate, the naming *Butun* was still used. In the letters of agreement with the VOC, the sultan calls *Butuni* for his territory (Zuhdi, 2007:37). Additional letter "i" at the end of the word shows the characteristic of Wolio language as *vocalic language*, i.e. a language that knows no consonant at the end of the letters of a word. Each consonant at the end of the word is removed or added to the vocal. Bugis/Makassar called *Butun* with *Butung*. They utter nasal sound "ng" when a word ends with a consonant "n". Parallel to that, the Portuguese called *Butun* with *Butum* or *Bulgur*. The Dutch then called *Butun* with *Butong* (Bouthong) or *Buton* as known today.

Besides *Butun*, name *Wolio* also attached to the name of this kingdom. As noted before that there is a myth in the saga *Sipanjonga* which tells the migration of groups of people from Johor namely *mia patamiana*. As they arrived, they immediately "open new land" or "cutting wood" for settlements which in Wolio called "welia". From this word appears name *Wolio*.

When Islam came, myths about Wolio and Butun merged in Islamic version. Name *Butun* was ascribed from Arabic, *butn* or *bathni* or *bathin* means "stomach" or "womb", while the name *Wolio* originated from a name of an Arabian wanderer ordered by Prophet Muhammad to sail to the east to get an island that had long missed Islam, and local residents regarded him as *Waliullah* (Messenger of God). From the word *Waliullah* is then known Wolio, another name for the sultanate of Buton (Hadad, 1863; Ikram et al, 2001:1-2). In *Kabanti Kanturuna Mohelana* (sailor's lamp) manuscript disclosed:

*Tuamo siy iyaku kupatindamo*  
*lkompona incema uincana*  
*Kâpâka upêlu Butûni*  
*Kumânaiya Butûni kokompo*

That's I asked for clarity  
In whose womb you emerge  
Because you like *Butuni*  
I give meaning *Butuni* pregnant

*Motoḍikana inuncana quru 'ani*  
*Yitumo ḍuka nabiṭa akôni*  
*Apaincanamo sababuna tana siy*  
*Tuamo siy auwalina wolio*

What written in the Quran  
It's also there our prophet speak  
Stating the cause of this land  
Thus it is the origin of Wolio

*Inda kumondoa kupetula-tulâ keya*

Not finished to tell

*Sô kuḍingki auwalina yincia siy  
Taokana akosaro butûni  
Ambôrasimo pangkati kalangâna*

I only touch on the origin is like this  
So named Butuni  
Occupy a high prestige

About Wolio myth in the Islamic version (Hadad, 1863), the story is:

*"It's about an Arabic wanderer ordered by the Prophet Muhammad to sail east to an island that had long missed the presence of Islam. As he arrived on the island, the wanderer put his robe somewhere. Then it got the local people attention. They were curious for a long time of who the owner of the robe. Mean while, in a tree near the robes, were perching 7 birds voicing in turns "butuni-butuni-butuni". Then, the people there performed bow when they saw the wanderer was "Waliyyullah" (messenger of Allah). From the word Waliyyullah that came to be known Wolio".*

Islam emerged in Buton about the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Yunus (1995:53) notes that Islam is predicted to have arrived to Buton at a time when the ruler of the Kingdom of Gowa had not embraced Islam yet. It's known through local traditions and manuscript of Wan Muhammad Shagir about the arrival of a Patani scholar, Sheikh Abdul Wahid in the eastern part of Buton island to spread Islam. Officially Islam accepted as a religion of the empire since the reign of King Buton VI Lakilaponto or Murhum in 948 Hijr or 1542 AD. King Buton VI embraced Islam through Sheikh Abdul Wahid. Murhum inaugurated as a sultan with the title of Sultan Kaimuddin, which means 'founder of religion'. The second version of the entry of Islam into Buton was in 1580 when Sultan Baabullah from Ternate expanded his dominion (Ligtvoet, 1878).

From both versions above, people tend to accept the first version that Islam arrived in 1542, not directly from Ternate but through Solor (cf. Zuhdi, 2010:103). Presumably there is a "denial" over the cultural and political dominance of Ternate, so it effects interpretation of the entry of Islam into *Butun*. Traditional sources of *Butun* showed that assumption. Ternate cultural and political dominance over Butun is a structural constraint that complicated to be refused. The structural constraint can be seen in *kaḅanti Kanturuna Mohelana* manuscript as following.

*iweitumo osuluthani irumu  
beya sapomo itana wolio siy  
pogauaka kambotuna ḅawângi  
iyaḅakina suluthani talu mia*

It's there the sultan in rum  
wish to come in this Wolio country  
discuss the decision of world  
whom asked to three sultans

*otaranate soloro tê wolio  
têmo karonā kamondona pata mia  
mô pata mia suluthani iḅawângi  
iweitumo ḡuniâ atoatoromo*

Ternate, Solor, and Wolio  
with him become four people  
up to four sultans in the world  
it's there the world arranged

*iyarongimo mulaena ḅawângi  
osababuna ḡuniâ amalusamo  
salapasina paḍa inciya siytu  
apogaumo manga pata miayia*

all about the origin of the world  
cause of the world have been obsolescent  
after that matter completed  
the foursome speak

*âincanamo mulae ḅawângi*

actualize the beginning of the world

As a source of traditional historiography, the strings of *kaḅanti* above give understanding of several things. First, the mention the Rum above refers to the Sultanate of Turkey as a normal phenomenon that in Malay world there is a tendency of a small kingdom claimed to have close relations with bigger and stronger kingdoms. By mentioning "Sultan of Rum wish to come in Wolio"

clearly shows the legitimacy of power. The big and powerful kingdoms beyond the Malay world usually referred to are Sultanate of Rum (Turkey) and China, whereas for powerful kingdom in the Malay world are Aceh, Minangkabau, Java (Majapahit), and Luwu (Chambert-Loir, 1985:39) .

The second is about equalization process of position of the Sultan Butuni with other sultans. Together with the "Sultan of Rum, Solor Sultan, and the Sultan of Ternate," the Sultan Butuni participated in "talk about the world decision", in the framework of the "coming of Islam". The third, the arrival of Islam in Butun is considered as a "differentiator" between "old age" and "new age", which is within the framework of Islam as a "separator" between the "jahilliyah" ("darkness era") with "bright era". Because in the beginning "the world has been obsolescent" then comes the "new age" (Zuhdi, 2007:5). Proof of the coming "new age", a local tradition tells an incident of suicide of Hindu followers group that people believe their tomb can still be seen in Batauga, southern part of Butun, known as the "graveyard of Majapahit" (Zahari, 1977:102; Schoorl, 1986:59).

The arrival of Islam considered as a higher civilization than previous civilizations (Abdullah, 1993). Nevertheless, the tradition of pre-Islamic beliefs continued to proceed in the Butun community and experiencing synthesis with Islam which came later. At least, until the 1970's, Zahari noted about the still-existence of utterance "katauna baramana" ('Brahmin curse') of the parents when they see their children act not in accordance with the laws and teachings of Islam (Zahari, 1977:51-52).

The entry of Islam in Butun was not only as the beginning of the sultanate era, but also the beginning of the flowering of intellectual traditions. Islam is not only meant as a number of rules that must be adhered to in order to reach a better life, but it was interpreted as a torch light that freed people from a darkness to a bright life. As stated by Sultan La Ode Muhammad Idrus Kaimuddin (1824-1851), Islam is "nuru molabi" (bright light) that leads men to a wisdom tradition, a tradition to reach the Khaliq (the Creator). This wisdom tradition was then produced many scholars and manifested in law and governmental management prevailing in its day (Darmawan, 2009:24).

Buton society, before the advent of Islam, belong to the illiterate, the legacy of past knowledge stored in the collective memory only, without any effort to preserve it (Darmawan, 2009:23). Through Islam, Buton society got an access to reach the knowledge as broad as possible. Buton society got enlightenment and realized that the Sultanate of Buton was just a small dot in the vastness of the knowledge. Buton society realized that their knowledge about the universe is like a coast line of knowledge of ocean that had been dived and crossed by the great Moeslim scholars throughout history.

The idea that came along with the arrival of Islam was the concept of Sufism as seen on a series of books that had been dropped in this area in the 15<sup>th</sup> century (Yunus, 1995:86). In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, people of Buton had read a number of books, some of which are valuable books that still studied until now in all Islamic universities. It can be said that globalization has occurred since the past in Buton in some phases that more intensive when dialogues with various world manuscripts happened.

The first phase of globalization had begun to glow in the 13<sup>th</sup> century when *mia patamiana* from Malay came and became the forerunner of the birth of the Buton kingdom. Their coming and the presence of Wa Kaa Kaa and Dungkuchangia from China strengthened the pull of globalization in this country (cf. Zuhdi, 2010:53). If globalization is defined as the cultural engagements arena, then the globalization had already happened in that century. The second phase of globalization was the arrival of Sheikh Abdul Wahid, the scholar who Islamized the King VI of Buton and transformed the kingdom into the sultanate system.

The coming of Sheikh Abdul Wahid became an opener gate for other scholars and Sufis to come to teach Islam to the people. The scholars became important figures who brought higher civilization and brought the people from the centuries of illiterate into a new era of writing of manuscripts. The third phase was the coming of Europeans like Portuguese, English, and Dutch, that brought Buton in association with other nations. Their coming was the beginning of Buton integration to the atmosphere of global society. Deal with Europeans, even though getting more disadvantages, is part of the journey as a nation. The fourth phase was the presence in large number of books in Arabic that more intensive at the reign of Sultan XXIX, La Ode Muhammad Idrus Kaimuddin.

Globalization through the books of Sufism was driven by the scholars and Sufis who frequently visited Buton. One of them was Muhammad Sharif, an Arabian scholar who came during the reign of La Elangi, Sultan Dayanu Ikhsanuddin (Sultan Buton IV), in 1610 AD. He then helped Sultan La Elangi to formulate written laws of called *Murtabat Tujuh*.

As a kingdom that grew out of a transmission of the teachings of Islam in the Nusantara, Buton was not separated from activities of writing and dissemination of the results. Ikram et al (2001:12) revealed that a number of the found-texts informed that since the beginning of the 16th century and reached its peak in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, was the most important periods of the process of establishing the tradition of Islamic thought. When international and inter-island trade were increasingly widespread and the glory several kingdoms, such as Aceh, Mataram, Banten, Makassar/Gowa-Tallo, and Ternate, when the foundation of intellectual and political traditions laid, then attempt to copy manuscript books, the spread of religious ideas between kingdoms recorded by traditional historiography became the central theme of creation of Islamic cognitive community and followed by a cosmopolitan atmosphere. In this context, Aceh became a “producer center” of brilliant thought in the history of Islamic thought in Southeast Asia.

In the development of kingdoms in Nusantara in that period, there was a tendency of Sufi view that describes the relationship tied by a rope of love, between “the lord” and “the servant” and “the king” and “the people”. The cornerstone of the view is about the necessity of harmony and unity of the universe. When the process of contemplation of human toward the Khaliq (the Creator) occurred, then the thought to the Khaliq try to be formulated. Hamza al-Fansuri formulated Sufist thought with a systematic cosmogony “*murtabat tujuh*” (seven dignity) as written by Muhammad ibn Fad al-Burhanpuri (1590). In traditional historiography, the king and the state should be seen from the Sufi point of view, not from *Fiqh* or *Syariat* (Islamic law) perspective. *Sarana Wolio* (Wolio constitution) influenced by Sufism *Wujudiyah* with systematic cosmogony “*murtabat tujuh*” is the basic law of Buton Sultanate.

*Murtabat Tujuh* is one of the most important teachings of mysticism in Sufism. *Murtabat Tujuh* is the mystical experience crystallization of the Sufis of the beliefs about the creation process of human and the universe that originated from the supreme substance of God, and ends on a perfect man (Saidi, 2009:164). The process is through a seven-stage of dignity, so it is called *Murtabat Tujuh*. The process comes from the top (God substance) to the bottom (creatures i.e. the man and the universe), then from man back to the God, as implied in His world, “*inna lillahi wa inna illaihi raji’un*” which means ‘we actually belongs Allah and indeed to Him we will return’ (QS 2:156). That is the essence contained in the teachings of *Murtabat Tujuh*. In this regard, Islam as the foundation of the state in the Sultanate of Buton formulated, which shows aspects of the formulation of the ideological foundation of the Islamic empire. This suggests a dialogue of religious thought, culture, and ideology of state that would be built.

The concept of *Murtabat Tujuh* also known in some places in Nusantara that started in the 8<sup>th</sup> century AD and refers to the teachings of a great Sufi Abu Yazid al-Bistani, then clarified by Al-Hallaj (Husain Ibn Mansour al-Hallaj), a Sufi who executed because of his love to Allah, and well-known with his word "I am the truth". But the concept of *Murtabat Tujuh* more concretely illustrated by the famous Sufi scholar, Ibn Arabi. The concept was later adapted by some mysticism scholars as Shamsuddin ar-Raniri from Pasai, Hamzah Fanshuri from Aceh, Amongraga from Java, and La Elangi from Buton (Sultan Buton IV) (Saidi, 2009:164). Nevertheless, among the nations that knew the tradition of *Murtabat Tujuh*, only Buton that manifested that philosophical concept into the system of government rules, which governed the relationship between a position and other position. From the time of its enactment in the 1612 AD, it is obviously known that it is older than the United States Constitution, Virginia Bill of Rights which was born in 1776 and dedicated as an important year of constitutional history in the world.

*Sarana Wolio* originated from *Murtabat Tujuh* contains the human nature then amended by Sultan Dayanu Ikhsanuddin into *Sara Patânguna* ("the four traditional laws"). They are: (1) *Sara Wolio* as the central of government; (2) *Sara Hukumu* as the central of implementation of Islamic Law (3) *Sara Barata* as autonomous region, namely (a) *Barata Kaledupa* (b) *Barata Kulisusu*; (c) *Barata Tiworo*; (d) *Barata Wuna* (Muna). The structure of government of Buton Sultanate was projected into the shape of a boat called "Barata". *Barata* in *Wolio* language was a double outrigger boat with four strengthener knots which symbolized two kingdoms in the west, namely Tiworo and Muna and in the east, Kulisusu and Kaledupa (Muchir, 2003:144-145).

Social stratum in Buton Kingdom is based on the values of the local traditions and the teachings of Islam, consisting of four groups, namely *kaomu*, *walaka*, *papara*, and *batua*. *Kaomu* was a group that considered as descendants of Wa Kaa Kaa, the queen who reigned before Islam. This group is considered more indigenous than the second group, *walaka* that had been mixed with Arabic scholar's descent, Abdul Wahab and Muhammad Sharif. *Kaomu* group was entitled to be appointed as candidate of Sultan, while *walaka* group was in charge to maintain the law (*sara*). *Papara* were ordinary people, while *batua* were people who depend on others, usually as slaves.

The policy of Sultan La Elangi to apply *Murtabat Tujuh* as a source of law in the Sultanate of Buton is a wise choice. In his hands, *Murtabat Tujuh* became more "powerful", not just be a complicated and confusing philosophical concept that reflected intellectual exercise, but became an actual concept that applied in government rules. The choice to actualize the concept of *Murtabat Tujuh* is an option that shows the dialogues between Buton at that time with the world manuscripts. They read the philosophical concept, then observed the reality of governance in their country, and develop policies to be implemented as the legal system and be conformed to the local traditions. The texts of the world coming through the trade were referred as the thesis, its antithesis was the stretch of thought of Buton Sufi scholars who read the texts, and the synthesis was the birth of various texts and poetry of Sufism.

Through the reading and writing of the manuscript tradition, it means that the dialogues with the world texts are really happened. The dialogue meant here is not only a situation when two or more people are directly communicating. But, it here means the ideas that flow when some thoughts meet and question each other. When diverse ideas from outside come to this country, the ideas are having a dialogue when read by individuals with different social background and traditions, then it resulted in the synthesis in the form of new ideas. The thought did not become something frozen and slipped into the mind unconsciously, but it resulted in dialog and idea traffic that emerged when questioned and re-examined the idea.



The manuscripts or the books could also give a new perspective in looking back a situation and became a light in solving the problems, including regulation and law and the system of relationships among elements in the government. The books have expanded their views of to what extent the adventure of Sufis in the ocean of knowledge, and then appear a creative attempt from inside to apply that knowledge in micro scale namely the Sultanate of Buton. The tradition of writing manuscripts was also meant to perpetuate the memory, record all lessons from the long journey of Buton country, and to devolve the memory to the next generation.

## 2. Manuscripts Tradition

Remain of writing in the form of script is able to provide clearer and more extensive information than the legacy of the past in the form of objects (Subadio, 1975:8). As a written legacy, the script stores a variety of information of life, about different ideas, beliefs, and outlook on life that have ever developed in society in the past. The ideas with their values have led the birth of today's society (Chamamah-Soeratno 2011:4). When it is said that the script stores various ideas of the past, it means that the content of the script can serve as a mirror of society. Thus, the script is able to present the view of people in the past about the world (cf. Goldman, 1977).

The 17<sup>th</sup> century in Buton recorded as a century that full of appreciation to all kind of manuscripts. Whatever was written would be stored as a valuable document. Even, when the Dutch dominated the nations in the east, scripts in form of royal letters were the primary medium for conveying messages. Through the written tradition, the Dutch exchanged words and built strong relationships with various kingdoms and showed their supremacy over other nations. It can be seen in many agreement texts with other nations, for example, in many agreements, including Bungaya agreement in which they broke off Gowa supremacy in the eastern archipelago.

The manuscript tradition in Buton continued until the development of Islam, and reached the peak in the reign of Sultan La Ode Muhammad Idrus Kaimuddin (1824-1851). At that time (cf. Zahari, 1977; Zaenu, 1985, and Maliki, 1987) the script writing activities developed rapidly, which was mostly behest of the sultan. La Ode Muhammad Idrus Kaimuddin is not only known as the sultan and the great scholar of Buton but also known as an author. One of the most popular works of him is *kaḥanti Bula Malino* (the Calm Month), which has been a source of inspiration for several authors (researchers) to study the relationship between man and the God, as done by Malim (1961), Balawa (1994), and Niampe (1998).

The writing tradition in the Sultanate of Buton socialized in a unique learning method. Since 1824, the tradition of reading and writing the manuscript has become a study of the local intellectuals. Through manuscripts tradition, they thought, dialogued with many traditions of thought, and then attempted to apply it to tell the wonderful charm of knowledge. At the reign of Sultan La Ode Muhammad Idrus Kaimuddin, the manuscripts tradition was institutionalized in education by establishing *Zawiah* School. *Zawiah* became a place where pioneers of scholars born as a writer. A revolutionary thing happened in *Zawiah* was the freedom to students to choose the knowledge they enjoy to be applied in daily life.

Through *Zawiah*, writing script was taught as a knowledge that freed society from illiteracy. The tradition of writing the script became a bright light in attempt to write poems and philosophical musings. A complete script is not merely silent text. Before writing, a writer performed a contemplation and spiritual behavior in order to achieve a certain concentration point to write the script. The situation is almost the same as in medieval Europe, when a work of art and work of philosophy dedicated to glorify the God and considered to have magical powers (Darmawan,

2009: 33). In this situation, breath, talk, attitude, and way of view to something should be based on the guidance and universal values as found in the teachings of Islam, in Wolio language called "*apoguru iantona Islamu*" (study to the essence of Islam).

As an Islamic empire (a sultanate), then the manuscripts produced in Wolio (Buton) are mostly influenced by Islamic elements. This can be seen in the content of the texts that dominated by religious teachings of Islam, the use of the Arabic language, and the use of elements of word taken from Arabic vocabularies, beside Wolio and Malay language. The character used was also Arabic-Malay script as adaptation from the Arabic script. The Arabic-Malay script had been modified and adapted to represent the phonemes of the language of Wolio.

The tradition of Arabic script came into Indonesia along with the religion of Islam had been used for religious literature and also non-religious literature and any kind of writings in the local language (Teeuw, 1982:11). Arabic script as a medium for Malay language with various adaptations and modifications, in a period of time, has gained a solid place as a way to record the various languages in Nusantara (Ikram, 1997:38). Adaptation and modification of Arabic script is not only to the Malay language, but also some languages of other regions in Southeast Asia such as Acehnese, Javanese, Sundanese, Bugisnese, Wolionese, Tausug, Magindanao, Maranao in Southern Philippines, etc. which by Kawashima, areas outside the Malay that used the Arabic script called as "non-Jawi Malay/Indonesian" (Yamaguchi, 2007:45). If the Arabic script adapted and modified in Malay called *Jawi* script, and in Java called *Pegon* script, then in Buton it's called *Buri Wolio*.

The remain of writing tradition in Buton can be seen from several aspects, namely (1) the writer as an author, (2) the writer as an interpreter or rewriter, and (3) the writer as a copyist. The remains were in the form of sultanate letters, Sufism and Islamic manuscripts, and the manuscripts of medical treatment. There are also many literary scripts consisting of several poetries and sagas. Currently, most of the legacies were stored in the collection of Abdul Mulku Zahari in Bau-Bau, ANRI and the National Library in Jakarta in the form of microfilm, and there are a number of manuscripts in several European countries, mainly the Netherland.

### 3. Buton Manuscripts Collections

One of the cultural heritages of the society history in Nusantara is written work that is generally in form of handwritten called script. It can be said that the script is a relic evidence of civilization in past that originated from a particular community. Of many ethnic communities in Nusantara, not all have the written tradition. In Buton, mostly manuscripts were written in Arabic, Malay, and Wolio using the Arabic and Latin script. Other manuscripts were written in Dutch and Japanese.

Buton kingdom lasted from the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and ended in 1960 (Zuhdi et al, 1996). Islam as the foundation of society and political life of the kingdom came at around the year 948 Hijri or 1542 AD. From historical record, it is known that in 1611, the Sultan of Buton, Dayanu Ikhsanuddin (1595-1615) has conducted a friendship agreement with VOC. Furthermore, Zuhdi *et al* explains that the authentic document is no longer exists except for which printed as source publication collected in the *Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlandico Indicum*. The second agreement was agreement between the sultanate of Buton and VOC took place in 1667. According to Ikram *et al* (2001), the format of the agreement letter, it consists of two parts, side by side, in which one side written in the Dutch and other in Jawi. Judging from the form, the handwriting is also included in the category of manuscript.

As a kingdom that grew out of a transmission of the teachings of Islam in the Nusantara, Buton was not separated from activities of writing and dissemination of the results. Of a number of the found-texts informed that since the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and reached its peak in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, was the most important period in the formation of the tradition of Islamic thought. Islam provided spiritual enlightenment and intellectual excitement with broader knowledge and encouraged efforts to write and copy books in the framework of religious ideas proliferation.

Materially, Buton manuscript that was aged for centuries had no longer to endure, but its duplicate can be obtained as the copy in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The current manuscripts are mostly from the reign of Sultan La Ode Muhammad Idrus Kaimuddin (1824-1851).

Sultan La Ode Muhammad Idrus Kaimuddin is well-known as a fairly productive author with the theme of Sufism and Islam, his works such as *kaḇanti Bula Malino* (the Calm Month), *kaḇanti Nuru Molabina* (the Great Light), *kaḇanti Jaohara Molabina* (the Great Gem), *kaḇanti Kanturuna Mohelana I* (the Light of Sailing-People) and *Kanturuna Mohelana II* (the Light of Sailing-People), and *Tadzikiri Mamapoḍona* (the Short Recitation). It is a period that shows the large number of manuscripts copied or newly written. From that period also collected a large number of manuscripts that are known until now (Zahari, 1977:29; Niampe, 1998:47-48).

In the sultanate era, the copying of other people's work was one of the main tasks assigned to the secretary of the sultanate and other high officials, mainly the officials in the field of religious in the palace of Buton (Yunus, 1995:75). The result of the copying was either kept as the imperial archive, or used as a guide for the imperial officials and religious teachers and community leaders.

Manuscript activities in Buton can be grouped into three categories (Niampe, 1998:49), namely (1) the writer as an author, such as script *kaḇanti Bula Malino* (the Calm Month) and *kaḇanti Jaohara Molabina* (the Great Gem) by La Ode Muhammad Idrus Kaimuddin, *kaḇanti Kaluku Panda* (the Short Coconut tree) by La Kobu, and *kaḇanti Ajonga Inda Malusa* (the Fadeless Clothes ) by H. Abdul Ganiu; (2) writers as an interpreter or rewriter, such as *Tula-Tulana Ana-ana Moelu* translated from *Hikayat Si Miskin* (Tale of The Poor) by La Ode Nafiu, *kitab Masala Sarewu* translated from *Kitab Seribu Masalah* (Book of the Thousand Matters) by H. Abdul Ganiu, *Tula-Tulana Raja Indara Pitara* translated from *Hikayat Raja Indra Putra* (Tale of Raja Indra Putra) by Abdul Khalik; and (3) the writer as a copyist, like Abdul Mulku Zahari copied *kaḇanti Bula Malino* (the Calm Month), *kaḇanti Ajonga Inda Malusa* (the fadeless Clothes), *kaḇanti Kanturuna Mohelana* (the Lamp of Sailing-People), and *kaḇanti Kaluku Panda* (the Short Coconut tree); Moersidi copied *kaḇanti Bula Malino* (the Calm Month), *kaḇanti Kanturuna Mohelana* (the Lamp of Sailing-People), *kaḇanti Ajonga Inda Malusa* (the Fadeless Clothes), and *kaḇanti Kaluku Panda* (the Short Coconut tree); and La Mbalangi copied *kaḇanti Ajonga Inda Malusa* (the Fadeless Clothes), *kaḇanti Bunga Dalima* (Pomegranate flower), and *kaḇanti Kaluku Panda* (the Short Coconut tree).

Ikram *et al* (2001) classified the script according to its category or type as follows: (1) Islam, scripts that contain the texts of Sufism, and other Islamic teachings, and copies of holy Qur'an. Most of the scripts were written in Arabic with Arabic letter, some written in Wolio Language with Arabic-Malay letter (Buri Wolio) and other in Malay language with Arabic letter (Jawi); (2) Language, scripts containing texts about Malay language lessons which taken from Arabic grammar; (3) Tale, scripts that contains story of certain characters; (4) Law, scripts about regulations of tax payment, traditional law, Islamic law, etc; (5) Drugs, scripts that contain the texts of traditional medicine; (6) Primbon, containing all texts about astrology, fortune and misfortune based on traditional prophecy and dream interpretation; (7) History, containing all sorts of historical stories and legends, since

the origin of the establishment of the kingdom of Buton; (8) Genealogy, a kind of script explicitly focused on lineage; (9) Letter, is all texts about letters, both personal letters and formal letters, such as international letter and inter-official letter regarding all governmental matters; (10) Ceremony, containing about marriage ceremony based on Buton tradition; and (11) Other, all texts not included in all categories above, such as text of receipt, pass, and so on.

The structure of power in the Sultanate of Buton was supported by two aristocrats, *kaomu* and *walaka*. Sultan elected/designated by *walaka* and *kaomu*. *Walaka* were the ones who held custom and monitored the government run by the sultan. In the hands of *walaka*, the scripts were preserved and maintained.

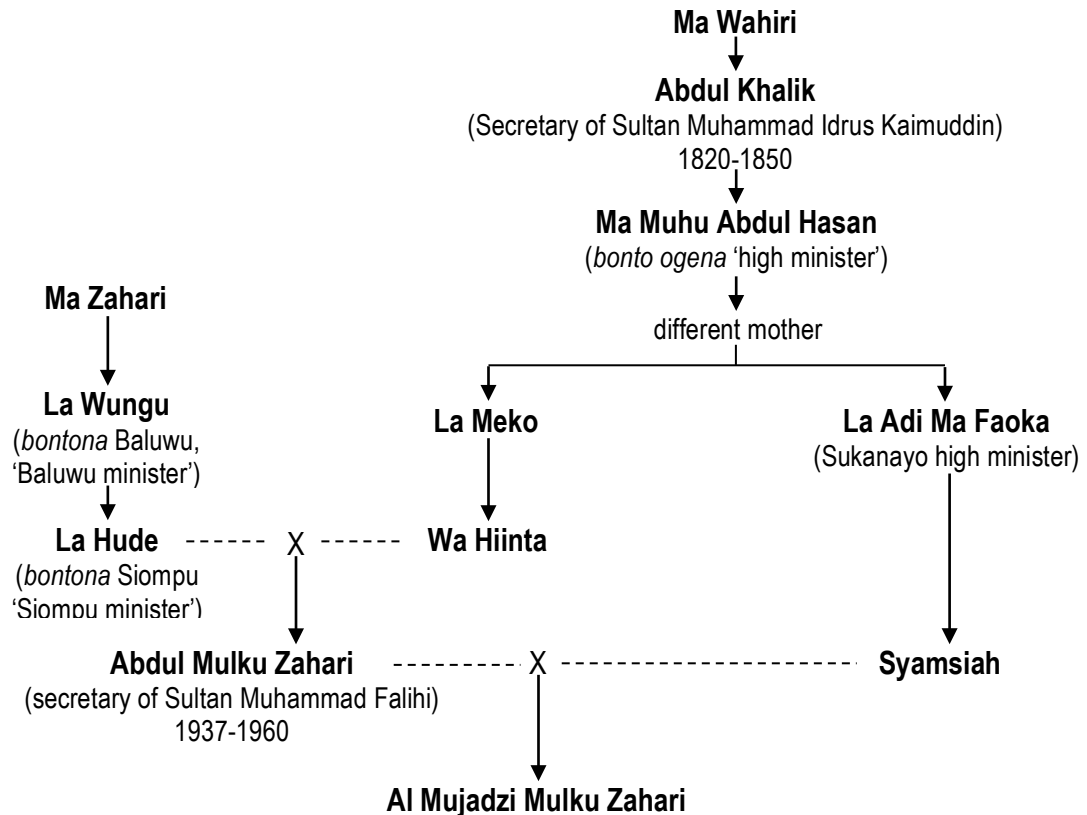
Principally, scripts of sultanate and sultan's family were not inherited but only given to people who considered able to maintain it. However, that provision is not entirely true because when the family relationship among the holders of the scripts getting far, then it attempted to make it closer through a marital relationship. The case can be seen in the relation between Abdul Mulku Zahari with Syamsiah Ma Faoka. Abdul Mulku Zahari was La Adi Ma Faoka's son-in-law. The relationship between them is: Abdul Mulku Zahari's mother is Syamsiah's cousin. If they did not tie in marital relation, the child of Abdul Mulku Zahari with Syamsiah's child would be in far according to family relation. Through them, the manuscripts of Buton are preserved until today (see pedigree of Abdul Mulku Zahari and Syamsiah Ma Faoka).

Today, the largest number of Buton manuscripts is in the collection of Abdul Mulku Zahari's family in Baadia, Wolio Palace, Bau-Bau. These manuscripts have been inventoried by the National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia (ANRI) in 1978 and 1984, Ikram *et al* (2001) in the form of catalogs, and Niampe *et al* (1999) in the form of research (inventory and recording). In the collection, there are some 299 manuscripts, Abdul Mulku Zahari has 119 scripts and Syamsiah Mulku Zahari (his wife) has 180 scripts. In the inventory of ANRI in the form of microfilm, there are 340 manuscripts, including 41 manuscripts of Wolio palace archives (cf. Ikram *et al*, 2001:11). Now, the collection of Abdul Mulku Zahari is maintained by his son, Almudjazi Mulku Zahari.

In addition, other Buton manuscripts also can be found in some private collections, such as, (1) the collection of La Mbalangi (78 years) in Tarafu, District Betoambari, Bau-Bau. He is the former Head of Religious Department of District Wolio, Buton; (2) Moersidi's collection (73 years) in Wajo, District Betoambari, Bau-Bau. He was a retired-official of the Department of Education and Culture of District Wolio, Buton; (3) La Ode Aegu's collection (80 years) in Tomba, District Wolio, Bau-Bau. He is a farmer and as Imam of Kraton Wolio Mosque; and (4) collection of La Ode Idris Ansari (68 years) in Batulo, District Sorawolio, Bau-Bau. He is a retired-official of the Department of Information, Buton.

### Abdul Mulku Zahari and Syamsiah Ma Faoka Pedigree

(Ikram *et al*, 2001:8)



The number of scripts owned individually by the people is difficult to determine or estimated because of the following factors. First, mostly scripts have changed hands, even up to more than two times from the initial holder of the scripts. It often fails in their search process, because the new holder of the script is not known. A lot of information about the existence of some manuscripts of Buton in certain places, but it so difficult to find them because they have been lost, damaged, or because of other reasons. Second, the scripts are often unexpectedly found in the certain places which are not initial information about the existence of the manuscripts. Third, many manuscripts are not allowed by their owners to be investigated; even they cannot be seen. This is due to the owner's belief that the manuscripts are sacred objects and have supernatural powers. They believe that a misfortune will strike them if they give the scripts or let them read by other person at any time. Fourth, there were manuscripts kept secret by their owners because containing the teachings of their ancestors in which not everyone could understand the contents, or because of other reasons. Therefore, by the reason, then the manuscripts were kept in the crate and buried on the ground, consequently after long period of time, the manuscripts had been eaten by termite or moth causing damage (Niampe, 1999:8).

Buton manuscripts written on various kinds of paper like European paper and Java paper (*dhaluwang*). Ink and pen used are generally still traditional. The ink is made of soot of *dama-*

*dama* (a type of resin wood) mixed with *arak* (coconut palm liquor), and the pen made of sharpened-palm leaf rib, base of the feather, or sometimes by using index finger nail.

#### D. CONCLUSION

In general, the search of the origin of the formation of a kingdom in Nusantara cannot be separated from myth (Zuhdi, 2007:2). The society in the past strongly had a collective consciousness of the world and the universe, which formed a cosmoscentric world-view in determining the description of time, space, and society (Kartodirdjo, 1988:53). The belief about Buton is "the center of the world (Islam)" is the creation of the myth. The story about this country created from "*bura satongka*" (a drop of froth) with its first king, Wa Kaa Kaa who came out of "*buluh bambu*" (bamboo reed) is a form of oral tradition telling about a cosmogony myth or myth of common origins.

The presence of a number of Sufis and scholars in Buton apparently can not be separated from the transmission of teachings of Islam in Nusantara (Azra, 1994). The nature and potential of geographic, demographic and socio-economic seemingly did not strengthen Buton in the aspect of trade; even the centralization of the state and moralistic is strongly visible. The influence of "*Murtabat Tujuh*" in Aceh is visible in Buton, and even applied in the government structure of the sultanate. Buton Sultanate is built with a foundation of the teachings of Islam and Sufism (cf. Zuhdi, 2010: 276).

Buton as the kingdom lasted for over two centuries (1327-1541) and continued with Sultanate for more than four centuries (1541-1960). During the kingdom era, people were not acquainted with script and literary tradition. Legacy of knowledge from the past was only stored in the collective memory, without any effort to perpetuate it (Darmawan, 2009:23). The events and social history of the past were only told hereditary from one generation to the next.

Buton society before the advent of Islam belonged to the illiterate. Islam had opened access to reach the knowledge as wide as possible. Buton society got enlightenment and realized that the Sultanate of Buton was just a small dot in the vastness of the knowledge. Buton society realized that their knowledge about the universe is like a coastline of knowledge of ocean that had been dived and crossed by the great Moeslim scholars throughout history.

Buton manuscript was born in the sultanate era, along with the process of Islamization that introduced literacy traditions with Arabic script, which was later modified into Buton script (Buri Wolio). Because of the influence of Islamic religion that developed rapidly and legitimated as the religion of the state, writers emerged from generation to generation by using Wolio language, Malay, and Arabic. Their writings covered a wide range of knowledge such as law, governance, institution, history, literature, social-culture, character building, religion particularly Islamic Sufism, etc. Their works adorn the collection of manuscripts in Buton.

Generally, these manuscripts are still stored as private collection left as a heritage and are still closed to others outside the family. The only manuscript collections opened to the public, especially for researchers is manuscript owned by Abdul Mulku Zahari's family, which is currently maintained by his son, Almujaiz Mulku Zahari. Buton manuscripts stored in Leiden, the Netherland in the form of microfilm have also been presented in Buton in 2004. Seen from the time of writing, the oldest manuscript in Buton is *Murtabat Tujuh* as Constitution of Buton Sultanate written in 1610.

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